5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Bedouin #354

421 luxury and display have a certain number of devotees. In the desert the viewpoint is very different. Human needs and rights are always and in all circumstances the most important thing and property rights are always
[565] subordinate to them. More than that, it follows that no one, whatever his station, is entitled to more than he needs of the scanty supply of food, clothing and shelter which the world affords until every one else has had
454 all that he needs. Concerning the surplus over and
574 above the subsistence requirements of the community the Arab has no definite convictions, but the man who desires to live in wasteful luxury, or who hoards wealth while his fellow tribesmen starve, may expect to be sent down very promptly to the eternal fire to roast where he belongs. It is on this foundation that the obligations of hospitality are built. The traveler is a man in need—in need of shelter and of food. The mere fact that he has no money to pay for these does not modify the situation in the slightest degree. His need, in and of itself, establishes his host's obligation to feed him. No possible notion of private ownership can in the Bedouin mind establish the right of the householder to his surplus so long as a hungry guest remains to be fed.

• 423 Land in the desert is free as the air. It is practically worthless in its sterile aridity, and there is nothing surprising in the fact that private ownership has not attempted to control it. Live stock is owned individually.
422 425 This type of property, however, occupies a peculiar position. Animals are privately owned, but they are the object of never-ending raids, and property rights in them are almost as far removed from our notion of private property as from communism itself. Live stock remains

5: Harrison D-4 (1912-1924) 1924 M1 Middle East
Saudi Arabia MJ
Bedouin MJ4

But if the Bedouin has a great contempt for the townsman, the townsman on his part reciprocates most cordially. He regards the unwashed and unkempt nomad of the desert as little better than a wild beast. Incidentally he fears the wild religious fanaticism of the despised tribesmen exceedingly, and not without reason. "Infidel," said one of the Bedouins to a small shopkeeper in Hasa who sat comfortably smoking his big waterpipe in the door of his shop. "Infidel, shall I break it over your head, or smash it here on the ground?" and the shopkeeper having indicated a preference for the ground, the fanatical Wahabi, to whom tobacco is the very essence of sin and uncleanness, smashed the waterpipe to pieces on the floor. A waterpipe is a quite expensive affair, being an ornamented glass jar of about a quart capacity. Those accustomed to their use insist that in no other way can tobacco be properly smoked. The time was when the inhabitants of the oasis-towns were more religious than the Bedouins, but that time is past, and now the Bedouin in his religious zeal looks on them as next to infidels. "Those are the men," the city dweller will explain with great scorn, "who think they are competent to instruct us in matters of religion. They do not know the simplest prayers. Their heads are so full of lice that room could scarcely be found for more. Their clothes never get washed. Their women go about unveiled. They are nothing but wild animals."

The underlying changes that have brought about this transformation from desert conditions to those of the oasis are two. There is a divison of labor, and a certain differentiation into sections and cliques is inevitable on account of that, but a far more significant thing is the fact that agricultural land in the oasis is held as private property, whereas in the desert land is free as the air.

21: Fisher S-4 (no date) 1950 M1 Middle East M1
Bedouin MJ4,15

the group. Yet although tribal solidarity and discipline are conspicuous features, it has been the weakness of Badawin society throughout the ages that political combinations larger than the tribe have been achieved merely for a very short time. An outstanding leader has brought together a number of tribes into one larger unit, but union has proved temporary; and more often than not on the death of the leader, his organisation has dissolved again into smaller groups. Large-scale political organisation is therefore not a feature of Badawin society, and resulting inter-tribal feuds, inveterate warfare, political instability and inconstancy have had an effect not merely on desert and steppe life, but also on that of the settled lands of the arid borders. It is also possible to see why, in the absence of strong internal political organisation, so much of the Middle East has in the past fallen under the control of outside powers.

To each tribe belong certain rights of pasture and occupation. The limits of each tribal territory are carefully defined, and generally comprise a summer and a winter camping ground. Exact size of territory usually has a certain relation to the physical force and prestige commanded by each tribe, and limits therefore vary from one period to another. Weaker tribes seek 'protection' from a larger.

As a sample of tribal division, the distribution of Badawin in Syria is given below. It should be noted that in certain instances tribal territories cross international frontiers, and thus there arise special problems of administration. Agreements have been concluded between the governments concerned, whereby nomads in effect assume temporarily the nationality of the country in which they find themselves.

Because of the necessity for constant movement, the material culture of the Badawin is poor. Chief possession of the tribesman, after his animals, is a tent, usually black, and woven of camel or goat hair. When in good repair, these tents are quite waterproof—sufficient to withstand the infrequent, but severe downpours which occur—and the size of the tent, shown by the number of tent poles used, is an indication of the affluence and social standing of the owner. The interior is divided, on the right for men, and on the left for women. One side away from the wind is usually left open, with a coffee hearth in front. The coffee hearth is the social centre of the household; and the head of the family, although leaving the entire preparation of food to his womenfolk, will himself undertake the preparation and serving of coffee. True Bedu coffee is strong, devoid of milk or sugar, but

Iraq BEDOUINS MJ4

The conditions of land tenure in Arabia are obscure. Most of 423 ●
the land is still utilised by the nomadic tribes for grazing their flocks. When the settlers are assigned land, it is not clarified who holds the title, the state, the tribe or the individual cultivator.

Although Arabia is still predominantly pastoral, the nomadic 361
character of the population is being rapidly changed as the result 166x
of government action and under the impact of increasing contact with the West.

Iraq (Mesopotamia)[1]

Iraq has a history of sedentarization that goes back to the 174
19th century when the Turks began to take steps towards reducing 166x
the nomads to a sedentary agricultural existence.

Up to 1869 it was the Bedouin policy of the Ottoman authorities to crush or settle the tribes, to break or conciliate their leaders.[2] Government action, however, was not accompanied by any concrete plans of providing for the Bedouin alternate means of sustenance.

Midhat Pasha, who became Wali of Baghdad in 1869, approached the issue more constructively. He viewed tribal settlement as an agrarian problem. Bedouin cultivation was encouraged by the sale of state-land on reasonable terms. Midhat Pasha felt that only settlement can permanently solve the tribal problem. He was con-

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1. Certain parts of former Mesopotamia like Deir ez-Zor belong to modern Syria. When an instance of nomad settlement in the Deir ez-Zor area refers to times previous to the establishment of modern Iraq it was included in this chaper although the locality may be now Syrian territory.
2. Ireland, 1938, p. 90

BEDOUINS MJ4
IRAQ

648 unlimited powers abused more often than not, the process of seden-
X166 tarization took its course.

423 After the First World War very little of the tribal land was
still communally held, its ownership having been claimed by
individuals.[1] Land settlement in Iraq had resulted in the transfer
of the tribal semi-collective landholdings to individual holdings
of the sheikhs. This increased the inequality of land-ownership
in favor of the leaders and at the expense of the members of the
tribe.[2]

622 Since the early 1920's some of the Iraqi sheikhs have dis-
423 played a growing interest in settlement of their tribesmen. The
X166 Sheikhs Ali al-Sulaiman and Mushin al-Hardan were largely respon-
sible for the restoration on scientific lines of the Saqlawiyah
canal and thus making possible the Dulayim development project
which provided for the settlement of 2 000 tribesmen.[3]

X166 The new settlement of Dulaymiya developed rapidly and proved
425 a success. An area which had been barren for centuries was re-
622 claimed and returned to cultivation. During the inter-war years
the Iraqi local government distributed State land to individuals
prepared to irrigate and cultivate it by installation of water
pumps. Due to the cost involved, only the wealthy sheikhs could
take advantage of the offer.

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1. Report, 1928, pp. 152-153
2. Himadeh, 1950; Himadeh, 1951, p. 275
3. Report, 1920-22, p. 20

IRAQ BEDOUINS MJ4

Their already substantial landholdings were thus considerably increased. 423 622

Neither the British Mandatory Authorities nor the Iraqi local government had in the 1920's a definite tribal settlement policy. 648 166x Whatever was undertaken in this direction like the Dulaymiya project is attributable to the initiative of the tribal leaders.

The transformation which the tribal sheikhs have been undergoing during the past few decades can be best illustrated by a concrete case. Ajil el Jawar, the chief sheikh of the Sharrar, had by the 1930's a variety of lucrative commercial interests. The government of Iraq and the Oil Companies appointed him to take over the protection of the wells and the pipelines. Besides, Ajil was charged with supplying laborers for railroad construction work. From these sources he received considerable income. The main part of his wealth, however, consists of real estate. Ajil inherited the lands near Kalat Sherqat and Takrit which Sultan Abdul Hamid had given to his grandfather Farhan as presents. In addition he acquired lands in the vicinity of Tall A'far, and also owns property in Baghdad and Mosul, as well as houses in Tall A'far and in the village Kalat Sherqat.[1] 622 425

The case of Ajil el Jawar is typical for all the powerful chiefs of Iraq, who have become wealthy landlords whose estates are cultivated by fellahin. Where the tribesmen followed the examples of of their sheikhs and settled down, they become the exploited tenants

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, pp. 150 seq.

1/1 [i.e., the wealthy sheikhs -- ANALYST]

BEDOUINS MJ4 SUBJ

agriculture was taking place on a small scale. During the latter part of the century the Wald Ali tribe began to take up cultivation near Homs and the Hesene in the Hauran.[1] 166K 656

The leaders of the Syrian tribes, however, particularly the Anezeh and West Shammar sheikhs, benefited from Sultan Abdul Hamid's policy aiming at winning their support by gifts of land and villages. In 1870 Jed'an of the Fed'an obtained from the government several villages and large tracts of land.[2] Mejhem, the grandson of Jed'an, owns two villages on the Euphrates besides the property which he inherited from his grandfather. In the 1930's he acquired additional ground near 'Ain 'Isa where he built a house.[3] Nuri al-Sha'lan, the sheikh of the Ruala, owned substantial property consisting of vast estates, a house in Damascus and several motor-cars.[4] 622 425 656

Since the end of the First World War, all the important tribal leaders of Syria have been in possession of extensive land-holdings, and most of them have taken an increasing interest in cultivation. In 1928 Sheikh Saleimeh of the Sba'a Gnezza undertook to restore an ancient system of canals and began tillage on land which had been heretofore desert.[5] In 1935 the sheikh of the Sba'a Bteimat doubled his cultivation in 622 423 241

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1. Oppenheim, 1939, p. 73
2. ibid., p. 79
3. ibid., p. 81
4. ibid., pp. 105 seq.
5. Report, 1935, p. 106

SYRIA BEDOUINS MJ4

622 the region south-east of Aleppo. In the Jezirah the sheikh of
423 the Fedn'an-Weld increased his tree plantations and experiments
241 of cotton cultivation.[1]

622 The estates of the tribal sheikhs are worked by fellahin
434 and settled nomads, but the considerable land-holdings of the
427 powerful Hammar and Aneseh chiefs are predominantly cultivated by fellahin while their tribesmen still continue to subsist on camel and sheep-breeding.[2]

622 Most of the tribal leaders have been anxious to obtain
653 for their people some of the amenities enjoyed by the sedentary
657 population. As result of their petitions to the Mandatory
658 Government, ancient wells were restored and new ones created, medical service was extended to Bedouin areas and public education made available to the tribes. The Services Hydrauliques sunk water wells in 1930/31 along the principal routes of Bedouin migration.[3] This service enabled the exploitation of pastures which had been heretofore out of the Bedouin's reach on account of the lack of water nearby. Infirmaries and dispensaries were established at the edge of the desert and at Palmyre. In 1931 three mobile hospitals were set up in Palmyre, Deir ez-Zor and Aleppo respectively. In 1930 two itinerary schools were added to the four already in existence to serve the EDUCATIONAL NEEDS OF THE TRIBES.

1. Report, 1935, p. 106
2. Epstein, 1940, p. 77
3. Rapport, 1931, pp. 99-100

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361 241 X166 178 years. There was not much of a response to the efforts of the government during 1934 and 1935 to encourage settlement on land.

X166 178 Where sedentarization took place it was the social process of assimilation, stimulated by economic, social and political factors. Where societies meet, the phenomenon of assimilation is inevitable; one section of the social group may be more rapidly affected than the other, but even if no extraordinary conditions arise, the evolutionary process of assimilation and subsequent sedentarization will take its course and ultimately embrace all strata of society.

361 X166 Tribal leadership spearheaded the movement towards sedentarization which by 1935 was sufficiently advanced among the tribal groups of the Aleppo-Homs-Hama region for 14 tribes representing 3 500 tents or 15 000 individuals to be placed by the authorities under a regime of ordinary administration.[1]

● 423 425 X166 For those nomads who are at present ready to settle down, the greatest problem is that of land-tenure. Bedouin tribes as a whole have more land at their disposal than they can possibly exploit by agricultural cultivation. The area inhabited by the nomads is not less than 10 693 000 hectares.[2] However, when the tribesmen are willing to take up agriculture, they find that all the tribal land has become the private property of the sheikhs.

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1. Rapport, 1936, pp. 26-27
2. Salem, 1950 p. 305

In 1949, Amir Sha'lan, the chief of the Ruala, went on record 425
with the statement that all his tribesmen now wanted land because 166X
the declining desert economy made settlement inevitable,[1] and
recommended to parcel out the newly developed land to the tribes-
men in individual holdings instead of allowing it to become the
private property of the sheikhs as this was the case in Iraq.
Actually, however, there has been in Syria as heavy a concentra-
tion of tribal land in the hands of the leaders as in Iraq. The
change of tribal society in Syria may lag behind the development
in Iraq, but the process of conversion from communally held tribal
land to individual property seems to assume the same patterns, the
sheikh emerging as the large landlord and the tribesmen as his
exploited tenants and share-croppers.

In recent years wealthy families, city notables, leased from 427
the sheikhs large areas of tribal land in the Jezirah and put
them under cultivation of grain[2] and cotton.[3]

Land reform has become a major domestic issue in Syria in 423

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1. New York Times, September 6, 1949
   It must be understood that the declaration was made for political reasons. The issue was the admission and settlement of Arab refugees from Palestine on newly developed land in Syria, a plan to which Sha'lan violently objected on the ground that the tribesmen needed the land for settlement. The tribes have more land than they can cultivate and, as far as the Ruala are concerned, they belong to the purest of the remaining camel-Bedouin and are not yet ready for agricultural life. Rassam states (1930, p. 497) that the Ruala would resist any attempt to settle them, many preferring to perish in skirmishes or return to Central Arabia than adopt the life of settlers.
2. Tannous, 1951, p. 11
3. New York Times, August 13, 1951

423 general. The idea of encouraging small and medium landholdings was incorporated in the new Syrian Constitution of 1950.

578 427 659 In the summer of 1951 violent clashes occurred in Syria between tenants and the agents of the big landlords, a development which testifies to the tenseness of the situation. Angry complaints were voiced in the Syrian Parliament against the government which does not challenge the encroachment on State Domains by the rich landowning families, and it was alleged that in the Jezirah tribal sheikhs connive with them by leasing many land on which the tribesmen enjoyed traditional grazing rights. 1)

Failure to make provisions for adequate conditions of land holding tends to retard tribal settlement. The enactment of sweeping land reforms, however, cannot be envisaged as long as the few, but powerful, land-owning families control the administration, and make even the allocation of State lands to small owners difficult.

Mandatory Palestine

162 361 Since World War I there have been no true Bedouin in Palestine, only semi-nomads. In the 1930's 47 981 out of the 66 551 nomads of Palestine 2) were encamped in the Beersheba district of the Negev, the rest scattered in the other parts of the country.

361 233 The tribes of Beersheba are the Terahin, Tayaha, Azazma,

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1. New York Times, August 13, 1951
2. Report of 1931 census of Palestine

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M1 Middle East
JORDAN

174 their nomadic life in the desert, raising camels, sheep and goats.

The first to become interested in agriculture was Sheikh Sattan ibn Faiz. Although he personally remained a wandering nomad with his Beni Sakhr tribesmen, he attended to the supervision of his estates at Umm al-'Amad, north east of Madabah.

361 Pere Jaussen reported in 1908[1] that already at that time
241 small tribes[2] of Gilead, the Jordan valley, Belqa and northern Moab were engaged in agricultural work.

●423 Most of the cultivable tracts of the tribal land had already
425 prior to the First World War become the private property of the sheikhs who acquired those lands simply by occupying them[3] as they belonged to nobody. Another method of increasing land-holdings was by encroachment on adjacent fields and putting them under cultivation. By this latter system a large territory, originally belonging to the Adwan, was acquired by Sheikh Sattan and his sons.[4] After World War 1 many sheikhs purchased Giftlik land[5] from the government on favorable terms.

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1. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 237-8 and pp. 240-55
2. All the tribes of Transjordan are small when compared with the powerful Iraqi and Syrian tribes such as the Ruala (4 250 tents) or the Sba'a (3 400 tents) cf. Fisher, 1950, p. 116. The Beni Sakhr, the largest tribe of Transjordan, has about 1 140 tents.
3. They set foot on a certain terrain, belonging to nobody (ارض سبسبة) and declared it personal property (ارض سبيبة) by virtue of occupation.
4. Jaussen, 1908, pp. 136-7
5. Giftlik is the land which had belonged to the Turkish Sultan and become government property after World War 1.

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breeding.

A decisive change in the opposite direction occurred in the economic structure of the Howeitat when their two Sheikhs Abtan ibn-Jazi and Audah abu-Tayy evinced more interest in raiding than in peaceful agricultural pursuits. In a short time the Howeitat became one of the most warlike tribes in North Arabia and the Syrian Desert. Cultivation was discarded, the tribesmen rented their farms to fellahin and tenants, and they themselves roamed the desert.[1]

Since the end of the First World War the Howeitat have been reverting to the land. The tribesmen again engaged in the agricultural work, and their transition to a completely settled existence should not be difficult to accomplish.

By 1931 all sections of the Beni Hasan[2] were settled on their land, in that year 5 000 title deeds having been issued to the tribal cultivators.[3] In the drought years of 1932 and 1933 the flocks of the Beni Hasan were severely hit. Like the situation among all the big tribes of Transjordan, the Beni Hasan were economically ruined, but unlike them they were willing to take up cultivation. Government financial assistance was requested to enable the tribe to develop its fertile lands, but no constructive help was forthcoming.

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1. Père Jaussen observed the Howeitat in 1908 after they had resumed their nomadic existence. But his statement that "les Howeitat n'ont jamais touché la charrue" (The Howeitat never touched the plow) (cf. Jaussen, 1908, p. 241) is incorrect.
2. The Beni Hasan have about 860 tents and dwell in 'Ajloun, one of the most fertile parts of Transjordan. They own about 372 000 dunams of land.
3. Report, 1931, p. 193

BEDOUINS MJ4

members of his tribe. Besides collecting the taxes for the central government he imposes and collects his own levies.[1] 566 622

Of course, there are exceptions to the general pattern. 622 There is, for example, the case of the Bedouin tribe Abu Kishk 566 that owned 20 000 dunums of land in the Sharon.[2] The sheikh's 423 family in whose name the land was registered, sold 10 000 dunums 425 to the Jews. The whole tribe benefited from this transaction. Part of the money was invested in a 145 dunum orange plantation 425 and used to dig new wells, part of it was distributed among the 311 individual members who were thus enabled to exchange their tents 871 for stone houses. Enough cash was left for building a school. The social, economic and sanitary conditions of the entire tribe were thus greatly improved by the actions of the tribal sheikh.

CHAPTER XI

Attitude of the Tribesmen towards Settlement

The Bedouin's traditional contempt for agriculture will not 241 be changed, before he is psychologically conditioned for seden- 731 tary life. Economic disasters and subsequent starvation will not in themselves materially alter this attitude. After the drought seasons of 1931 and 1932 the situation of the Transjordan Bedouin was desperate; 1946/47 was likewise a year of deficient rainfall in Transjordan when about 50 per cent of the livestock perished.[3] But still we do not hear of a great number of Beni Sakhr tribesmen

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1. Himadeh, 1950, p. 430
2. Ashkenazi, 1938, pp. 18-19
3. Losses amounted to: sheep and goats — 40%, cattle — 45%, camels — 50%. cf. Final Report, part 2, 1949, p. 10

BEDOUINS MJ4

Responsible circles in the Arab world today pay due attention to the problems of the nomad society, and from time to time constructive recommendations are voiced for the solution of the social and economic problems of the Bedouin element. For example, the First and Second United Nations Social Welfare Seminars for Arab States in the Middle East appointed Special Committees to discuss Bedouin problems and needs. The recommendations which were submitted to the plenary sessions aimed at the raising of the Bedouin standard of living by settling on land part of the tribal population and helping the remaining nomads improve their mode of existence in the desert.

During the last twenty years, particularly in the 1930's, programs for Bedouin settlement have been formulated in Iraq and in Syria. But there is no reference as to how much of the plans was actually carried out.[1] Where settlement has taken place, it was largely the private enterprise of the tribal sheikh. As the tribal land was usually registered in the name of the chief or leased to him by the government, practically all the members of the tribe have become upon settlement, the tenants or share-croppers on the estates of their leaders.

The sheikh-landlord has a personal economic interest in developing his land holdings, but his policies are rarely concerned with the welfare of his tribesmen. This is why the Social

1. Since no further reference was made to the plans in the ensuing years, the writer feels justified in assuming that the projects for Bedouin settlement remained on paper.

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Welfare Seminar of 1950 cautioned against offering the tribal chiefs large stretches of land on which the mass of the tribesmen would become a class of agricultural laborers.[1]

APPENDIX

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Recommendations for the Formulation of Settlement Policies

There is a definite need for constructive government-sponsored settlement schemes.

It has been recognised that specific problems, presented by old and deeply rooted traditions, must be taken into consideration:[2]

a. the element of persuasion and education, the mental adjustment of the Bedouin to the new conditions. Projects of amelioration and irrigation or schemes of free land distribution may aid the fellah and the nomad, but it must be recognized that not all the Bedouin will abandon nomadic life voluntarily, even when offered free land. The traditional contempt for agricultural work must be counteracted by persuasion and education.

b. the need for introducing gradual changes. Successful sedentarization of the nomads cannot proceed more rapidly than their mental adjustment to the new conditions. Where the Bedouin are not gradually prepared for agricultural life, they will become landowners, but not cultivators. They will turn into "tent-dwellers who depend for their living on the rents paid by their fellaheen-tenants."[3]

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1. El-Shihaby, 1950, p. 280
2. Polias, 1962
3. ibid.

1: Raswan T-3 (1913-35) 1947 MD4 Rwala Bedouins M34

years ago? He, as thou, loved our fast and enduring runners, those 'Drinkers of the Wind', which Allah bestowed on our forefather Ishmael."

Neither the scribe nor anyone else said a word about the stallion, and I dared not ask again; for I imagined that Mishal was particularly fond of this young horse.

The day of my departure came. The patriarchal *sheykh* and I exchanged words of formal farewell. Then he led me aside and bade me sit down with him at the farthest tent-peg. After a few minutes of silence, he took two documents from a leather pouch and said: "I have long noticed that thou hast taken the Saqlawi colt to thy heart. He is the best of our breeding, and I am happy to make thee a present of him, that thou mayest always remember our friendship and noble horses. Take the young stallion with thee and mention no thanks nor price, so that this remembrance may live forever unclouded in our hearts."

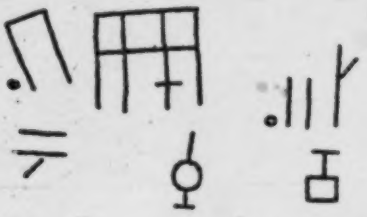
"The Lord be good to thee, O Mishal ibn Faris," I replied, "for that I am allowed to part from thee with such happy memories."

What more could I say in response to his simple words? I knew the Bedouins. To be open-handed makes most of them happy; and further, Mishal was a very rich man. To him "belonged" not only the Shammar in the Northern Jesirah (Mesopotamia), but he actually owned sixty-nine villages and their cultivated lands on the Khabur River. I could only hope that God would grant me the opportunity some time of showing my heartfelt thanks to Mishal in some special way.

k Dickson G-5 (1929-47) 1951 MI 1 Kuwait
Bedouins MJ4

Wasms in Wells

619 Below are some odd *wasms* found on north side of Wára.



WELLS

619 Almost all the great permanent wells of Arabia belong to some
312 tribe or other, and have been in their possession since earliest times.
423 Hence, if they are examined carefully, the *wasm* of the tribe to which they belong will usually be found, cut in the rocky sides some way down on the inside, or engraved on one of the large stones built round the well mouth.

It is important to know this, as the ownership of disputed wells and their surrounding grazing grounds can nearly always be determined by such marks if it is known where to look for them.

This right to own wells is not confined only to tribes, but is also the prerogative of individual Badawin, and has in the past been the cause of many a fierce fight. For instance, supposing a man camping alone in summer selects a suitable site for his family's tents, near where he thinks he will find water, and does dig a well, and does find water, then that well becomes his *mulk*, or personal property, and no other person may draw water from it, or use it for the future except with the owner's express permission. In the Kuwait hinterland, where there is sub-surface water nearly everywhere, such wells are frequent, and many are the disputes that arise from strangers attempting to use them.

NATURAL WELLS

312 The Natural Wells (*ddhal*, plu. *duhúl*) of the Summán region occupied by the Mutair 'Ilwa (150–200 miles south-west of Kuwait).

There are some one hundred *duhúl* scattered along the northern